

Democrats '80

Text of Carter's Speech Accepting Renomination at the Democratic Convention

Following is the text of President Carter's speech to the Democratic National Convention last night accepting its nomination for President:

Fellow Democrats, fellow citizens: I thank you for the nomination you have offered me. And I especially thank you for choosing as my running mate the best partner any President could ever have — our first and only choice — Fritz Mondale.

With gratitude and with determination, I accept your nomination. I am proud to run on a sound and progressive platform. Fritz and I will wage a campaign that respects the intelligence of the American people — a campaign that talks sense — and we are going to whip the Republicans in November.

We will win because we are the party of the great President who knew how to get re-elected — Franklin D. Roosevelt.

We are the party of a courageous fighter who knew how to "give 'em hell" — Harry Truman. As Truman said, he just told the truth as the Republicans thought it was hell.

We are the party of a gallant man of spirit — John F. Kennedy. And a leader of compassion — Lyndon Johnson. A big-hearted man who should have been President and would have been the greatest President of all time — Robert Humphrey. And we are the party of Gov. Jerry Brown and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy.

Let me say a personal word to Senator Kennedy.

Ted, you're a tough competitor and a superb campaigner — I can attest to that. Your speech before this convention was a magnificent statement of what the Democratic Party stands for — to the people of our country — and why a Democratic victory is so important this year. I reach out tonight to you and to those who supported you in your valiant and passionate campaign.

Ted, your party needs — and I need — your idealism and dedication work for us. There is no one else who has greater service lies ahead of you — and we are grateful to have your strong partnership now in this larger cause, which your own life has been dedicated to.

We're Democrats. We've brought our differences, but we share a bright vision of America's future — a vision of good life for all our people — a vision of a more secure, a more just, a more peaceful world, a strong America — confident and proud and united.

Forty years ago, President Franklin Roosevelt said that there are times in our history when concerns over our personal lives are overshadowed by our

concern for "what will happen to the country we have known."

This is such a time — and I tell you that the choice to be made this year can transform both our personal lives and the life of our country.

During the last Presidential campaign, I criss-crossed our country and listened to many people — housewives and farmers, teachers and small-business leaders, workers and students, the elderly and the poor — people of every race and background and walk of life. It was a powerful experience — a total immersion in the vast human reality of America.

I have now had another kind of total immersion — being President of the United States. Let me talk to you about what I have learned from it.

I have learned that only the most complex and difficult tasks end up in the Oval Office. No easy answers are there, but the truth is, because no easy questions can be there.

I have learned that for a President experience is the best guide to right decisions. I am wiser tonight than I was four years ago.

I have learned that the Presidency is a place of compassion. My own heart is burdened for troubled Americans. The poor, the jobless and the afflicted have become part of me. My thoughts and prayers for our hostages in Iran are as though they were my own sons and daughters.

The life of every human being on earth can depend on experience, judgment and the wisdom of the President of the United States. The President's power for building and his power for destruction are awesome. And that power is greatest exactly where the stakes are highest — in matters of war and peace.

I have learned something else — something that I have come to rely on with extraordinary clarity. Above all, I must look ahead — because the President of the United States is the steward of the nation's destiny.

He must protect our children — and the children of the future — and the children of generations to follow. He must speak and act for them. That is his burden — and his glory.

And that is why a President cannot yield to the short-sighted demands of special interests, no matter how rich or powerful they are. That is why the President cannot bend to the passions of the moment, no matter how powerful they are. That is why the President must sometimes ask for sacrifice when his listeners would rather have the promise of comfort.

President Carter with his wife, Rosalynn, at a delicatessen in New York

confrontation; the risk of an uncontrollable, unaffordable and unwinnable nuclear arms race.

No one, Democrat or Republican, consciously seeks such a future. I do not claim that my opponent does. But I do question the disturbing commitments and policies already made by him and by those with whom he has already captured control of the Republican Party.

The consequences of those commitments and policies would drive us down the wrong road. It is up to all of us to make sure America rejects this alarming, even perilous, destiny.

The only way to build a better future is to start with the realities of the present. But while we Democrats grapple with the real challenge of a real world, there is talk about a world of innel and make-believe.

Let's look for a moment at their make-believe world.

In their fantasy America, inner city people, farm workers and laborers are forgotten. Women, like children, are to

be seen but not heard. The problems of working women simply do not exist.

The young do not need Medicare. The young do not need help for a better education. Workers do not require the guarantee of a healthy and safe place to work.

In their fantasy world, all the complex global changes since World War II have never happened. In their fantasy America, all their problems have simple solutions. Simple — and wrong.

It is a make-believe world of good guys and bad guys, where some politicians shoot first and ask questions later.

No hard choices. No sacrifice. No tough decisions. It sounds too good to be true — and it is.

The path of fantasy leads to irresponsibility. The path of reality leads to hope and peace. The two paths could not be more different. Nor could the futures to which they lead. Let's take a hard look at the consequences of our choice.

Administration's Military Record

You and I have been working toward a secure future by rebuilding our military strength — steadily, carefully and responsibly. The Republicans talk about military strength, but they have in office for eight out of the last 11 years and in the face of a growing Soviet threat they steadily cut real defense by more than a third.

We have reversed the Republican decline in defense. Every year since I have been President we have made real increases in our military strength. Stronger defense — increases which are prudent and rational.

There is no doubt that the United States can meet any threat from the Soviet Union. Our modernized strategic forces, a revitalized NATO, the Trident submarine, the Cruise missile, the Rapid Deployment Force — all these guarantee that we will never be second to any nation. Deeds, not words — fact, not fiction.

We must and will continue to build our own defenses. We must and will continue to seek balanced reductions in nuclear arms.

The new leaders of the Republican Party, in order to close the gap between their rhetoric and their record, have now promised to launch an all-out nuclear arms race. This would negate any further chance for a mutual and balanced reduction in nuclear weapons. There can be no winners in such an

arms race — and all the people on earth would be the losers.

The Republican nominee advocates abandoning arms control policies which have been supported by every Democratic President since Truman and every Republican President since Eisenhower. This radical and irresponsible course would threaten our country and could put the world in peril.

You and I must never let this come to pass.

It is simple to call for a new arms race. But when armed aggression threatens world peace, tough-sounding talk is not enough. A President must act responsibly.

When Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan, we moved quickly to take action. I suspended some grain sales to the Soviet Union, called for a draft, rejected the Soviet proposal for a new arms treaty, and joined wholeheartedly by the Congress and the U.S. Olympic Committee, led more than 60 other nations in boycotting the big Soviet propaganda show — the Moscow Olympics.

The Republican leader opposed two of these peaceful but powerful actions and waffled on the third. But when asked what he would do about aggressive Soviet actions, he suggested blockading Cuba. Even his running mate could not go along with that.

He did not seem to know what to do with the Russians. He is sure it is wrong to feed them, play with them, or fight with them.

Foreign Policy Developments

As I look back at my first term, I am grateful that we have had for our country a full four years of peace. And that is what we want for the next four years.

It is only common sense that if America is to stay secure and at peace, we must encourage others to be peaceful as well.

We have helped in Zimbabwe, Rhodesia, where we stood firm for racial justice and democracy. And we have helped in the Middle East. Some have criticized the Camp David accords and delays in the implementation of the Middle East peace treaty.

Before I became president there was no Camp David accord and there was no peace treaty. Before, Israel and Egypt were poised across barbed wire, facing each other with guns and tanks and planes. Afterward, they talked face to face with each other across a peace table, and today they are negotiating through their own ambassadors in Cairo and Tel Aviv.

That is the kind of future we Democrats are working to bring to the Middle East.

I am proud that half of the aid that our country has given Israel in the 31 years of her existence has come during my administration. Unlike our Republican predecessors, we have never stopped or slowed that aid. And as long as I am president, we will not do so. Our commitment is clear: security and peace for Israel, peace for all the peoples of the Middle East.

If the world is to have a future of peace as well as freedom, America must continue to defend human rights.

The new Republicans leaders oppose our human rights policies. They want to scrap it.

They seem to think it is naive for America to stand up for freedom and democracy. Just what do they think our country should stand for?

Ask the dissidents in the Soviet Union about our commitment to human rights. Ask the Hungarians, the Poles, the Czechoslovaks. Listen to Pope John Paul II.

Ask those who are suffering for the cause of justice and liberty around the world.

Ask the millions who have fled tyranny if America should stop speaking up for American principles.

Ask the American people, as I speak as I am President, we will hold high the banner of human rights.

Here at home, the choice between the two futures is equally important.

In the long run, nothing is more crucial to our future than energy — and nothing was so disastrously neglected in the past.

Long after the 1973 Arab oil embargo, the Republicans in the White House still stood nothing to meet this threat to our nation's security. Then, as now, their policy was dictated by the big oil companies.

We Democrats fought hard to rally the nation behind a comprehensive energy program, a new foundation for challenging and exciting progress.

Now, after three years of struggle we have that program.

The battle to secure America's energy future has been fully and finally joined. Americans have cooperated with dramatic results. We have reversed decades of dangerous and growing dependence on foreign oil.

We are now importing 20 percent less oil. That is 13 million barrels less every day since I took first office. And now with our new energy policy finally in place, we can discover more, create more, and we will use American resources, American technology and American workers to do it.

What do the Republicans propose? Basically their energy program has two parts.

The first part is to get rid of almost everything we have accomplished for the American public over the last three years. They want to reduce or abolish the synthetic-fuels program. They want to slash the solar energy incentives, the conservation programs, aid to mass transit, and aid to the elderly to help pay fuel bills.

They want to eliminate the 55-mile speed limit, and while they are at it, the Republicans would like to get the Clean Air Act. They never liked it to begin with.

That's one part to their program. The other part is worse.

To replace what we have built, here is what they propose: to destroy the windfall profits tax, and to "unleash" the oil companies and let them solve the energy problem for us.

That's it. That is their whole program. There isn't any more.

Can this nation accept such an outrageous program? No! We Democrats will fight it every step of the way.

When I took office, I inherited a heavy load of serious economic problems besides energy — and we have met them head-on. We have slashed government spending and put free enterprise back into the airline, trucking and financial systems of our country, and we are now doing the same for the railroads.

This is the greatest change in the relationship between business and government since the New Deal. We have increased our nation's exports dramatically. I reversed the decline in basic research and development. We have created more than eight million new jobs, the biggest three-year increase in history.

But the road has been bumpy, and last year's skyrocketing OPEC oil prices helped to trigger a worldwide inflation crisis.

We took forceful action, and interest rates have not fallen, the dollars are stable, and although we still have a battle on our hands, we are struggling to bring inflation under control.

We are now at a critical turning point in our economic history. Because we made the hard decisions, because we refused to give in to a rough sea, we have laid the groundwork for a new economic future.

Our economic renewal program for the 1980's will meet our immediate need for jobs by attacking the very same long-term problems that caused unemployment and inflation in the first place. It will move America simultaneously toward our five great economic goals — lower inflation, better productivity, revitalization of American industry, energy security, and jobs.

It is time to put all America back to work — not in make-work, but in real work.

There is real work in modernizing government technology and creating new industries for America. Here are just a few things we will build together:

New industries to turn our coal and shale and farm products into fuel for our cars and trucks, and to turn the light of the sun into heat and electricity for our homes.

A modern transportation system of railroads and ports to make American coal into a powerful rival of OPEC oil. Industries that will provide the convenience of communications and futuristic computer technology to serve millions of American homes, offices and factories.

Job training for workers displaced by economic changes. New investment pinpointed in regions and neighborhoods where jobs are needed most.

Better mass transit in our cities and between them.

And a whole new generation of American homes and vehicles and buildings that will house us and move us in comfort — on a lot less energy.

I have no doubt that the ingenuity and dedication of the American people can make every single one of these things happen. We are talking about the United States of America — and those who count this country out as an economic superpower are going to find out how wrong they are.

We will share in the exciting enterprise of 1980's a time of growth for America.

The Republican alternative is the biggest mistake in American history. They call it Reagan-Kemp-Roth. I call it a free lunch Americans cannot afford.

The Republican tax program offers rebates to the rich, deprivation to the poor and force inflation to the rest of us. Their own Vice-Presidential nominee said that Reagan-Kemp-Roth would mean an inflation rate of more than 30 percent. He called it "wooden economics." He suddenly changed his mind toward the end of the Republican convention, but he was right the first time.

Along with this gigantic tax cut, the new Republican leaders promise to protect retirement and health programs and to make massive increases in defense spending.

If they are serious about these promises — and they say they are — then a close analysis shows that the entire rest of the government would have to be abolished — everything from education to farm programs to the G.I. Bill to the rest of what we call the Lincoln Memorial. And the Federal budget would still be in the red.

The only alternative would be to build more printing presses to print cheap money. Either way the American people lose. But the American people won't stand for it.

The Democratic Party has always embodied the hope of our people for justice, opportunity and a better life. We have worked in every way to strengthen the American family, to encourage self-reliance, and to follow the Old Testament admonition: "Defend the poor and fatherless; do justice to the afflicted and needy." (Psalm 82:3.)

We have struggled to assure that no child in America goes to bed hungry, that no elderly couple lives in a substandard home, and that no young person is excluded from college because the family is poor.

What have the Republicans proposed? Just an attack on almost every achievement in social justice and decency we have won in the last 50 years — since Franklin Roosevelt's first term. They would make Social Security voluntary. They would reverse our progress on the minimum wage, full employment laws, safety in the work place and a healthy environment.

Lately the Republicans have been quoting Democratic Presidents — but who can blame them? Whom would they rather quote — Herbert Hoover or F.D.R.? Richard Nixon or John F. Kennedy?

The Republicans have always been the party of privilege, but this year their new leaders have gone even further. In their platform, they have repudiated the best traditions of their own party.

Where is the conscience of Lincoln in the party of Lincoln? What has become of the traditional Republican belief in fiscal responsibility? What has happened to their commitment to safe and sane arms control?

Do not claim perfection for this Democratic Party. I do not claim that every decision we have made has been right or popular. Certainly they have not all been easy. But I will say this: We have been tested under fire. We have learned from them. Now we have tackled the great, central issues in our nation, the historic challenges of energy and peace which have tested us more for years. We have made tough decisions and we have taken the heat for them. We have made mistakes, and we have learned from them. Now we have built the foundation for a better future.

We have done something else — something perhaps even more important. In good times and bad, in the valleys and on the peaks, we have told the people the truth — the hard truth — that truth that sometimes hurts.

The truth is that we Americans have earned our dream of progress and peace. Look at what our land has been through just within our own memory — a great Depression, a World War, technological explosion, the civil rights revolution, the bitterness of Vietnam, the shame of Watergate, the twilight peace of nuclear terror.

Through each of these momentous experiences we have learned something about the world and about ourselves. We have matured and grown stronger as a nation.

We have learned the uses and the limits of power. We have learned the beauty and the responsibility of freedom. We have learned the value of the obligation of justice — and we have learned the necessity of peace.

Some would say that these lessons are somehow to limit our potential. That is not so. A nation which knows its true strengths, sees its true challenges, understands its legitimate constraints — that nation — our nation — is far stronger than one which takes refuge in wishful thinking or nostalgia.

The Democratic Party — and the American people — have understood these fundamental truths.

All of us can sympathize with the desire for easy answers. There is often the temptation to substitute Jell-O dreams for hard reality.

The new Republican leaders are hoping that this year America will give in to that temptation. But they profoundly misunderstand the character of American people.

Three weeks after Pearl Harbor, Winston Churchill came to North America — and said:

"We have not journeyed all this way across the centuries, across the oceans, across the mountains, across the seas, because we are made of sugar candy."

We Americans have courage.

Americans have always been on the cutting edge of change. We have always looked forward with anticipation and confidence. I still want what all of you want — self-reliant neighborhoods and strong families; work for the able-bodied and good medical care for the sick; opportunity for our youth and dignity for the old; equal rights and justice for all our people.

I want teachers eager to explain what a civilization really is — and students to understand the meaning of their own aims, but also the needs and yearnings of their neighbors. I want women free to work without limit the full life they want for themselves.

I want our farmers growing crops to feed the world and the world, secure in the knowledge that the family farm will thrive and with a fair return on the land they do for all of us. I want our men to see meaning in the labor they perform — and work enough to guarantee a job for every worker. I want people in business to be bold and to pursue new ideas. I want minority citizens fully to join the mainstream of American life, and I want the light of discrimination forever wiped away from our land.

The dream in the fulfilling of that vision. The choice before us — the choice between the two paths to the future — could not be more clear. If we succumb to a world of fantasy we will wake up to a nightmare. But if we start with reality and fight to make our dream a reality — all Americans will have a better life of meaning and purpose in a nation strong and secure.

Above all, I want us to be what the founders of our nation meant us to be — men and women of freedom, the land of peace, the land of hope.

The Election's Importance

The President is the servant of the future. His true constituency is the future. That is why this election of 1980 is so important.

Some have said it makes no difference what happens in this election. They are wrong.

This election is a stark choice between two men, two parties, two sharply different pictures of America and the world. But it is more than that.

It is a choice between two futures. The year 2000 is less than 20 years away. Just four Presidential elections after this one. Children born this year will come of age in the 21st century.

The time to shape the world of the year 2000 is now. The decision of the next few years will steer our country perhaps an irreversible course, and the most important of all choices will be made by the American people at the polls less than three months from tonight.

The choice could not be more clear — and the consequences could not be more serious.

In one of the futures we can choose — the future we have been building together — I see security, justice and peace.

I see a future of economic security — security that will come from tapping our own great resources — from coal and sunlight — and from building the tools, technology and factories for a

revitalized economy based on jobs and security for all.

I see a future of justice — the justice of good jobs, decent health care and equal opportunity for all — the opportunity of all people regardless of color or language or religion; the simple justice of equal rights for all — the rights of all for all women, guaranteed equal rights at last — in the Constitution of the United States.

I see a future of peace — a peace born of wisdom and based on fairness toward all the countries of the world — a peace guaranteed both by American military strength and by American moral strength.

That is the future I want for all people — a future of confidence and hope and a good life. It is the future America can choose with confidence, and your commitment to it is the future America will choose.

I see another possible future. In that other future, I see despair — the despair of millions who would have to struggle for equal opportunity and a better life — and struggle alone.

I see surrender — the surrender of our energy future to the merchants of oil, the surrender of our future to a bizarre program of massive tax cuts for the rich; massive service cuts for the poor; and massive inflation for everyone.

I see risk — the risk of international incident on Wednesday when the Governor missed traveling from the West 30th Street Heliport to the Sheraton Center in President Carter's limousine. Some aides speculated that Governor Carey was snubbing Mr. Carter.

Mr. Carter was snubbing Mr. Carey, and others that it was simply a mix-up. Governor Koch, who is in his limousine, said later that he had been unaware of the absence of Mr. Carter from the Sheraton Center, and was not trying to embarrass him.

A Carey aide said Mr. Carter had telephoned Mr. Carey on Shelter Island last night and invited him to yesterday's meeting at the Sheraton Center, where the President is staying. The President was soiled and had smoothed over any misunderstanding over the heliport limousine incident.

The Governor said he did not view the efforts for an open convention or the challenges to the President's economic platform as having been detrimental to the Democratic Party.

"It was a good, rousing Democratic battle on the issues," Mr. Carey said. "Out of this is going to come a party that knows it has a fight ahead."

Asked whether he thought that would be the outcome, the Governor said he thought the Republicans in Detroit, Mr. Carey replied: "Why shouldn't they be united? They all belong to the same country."

He said that in his efforts for Mr. Carey, he expected Senator Edward M. Kennedy to work with him, "as we have since 1960."

Business Day helps you stay ahead

After Mixups and Missed Cues, Carey Vows to Help Carter Win

Continued From Page A1

offered a statement on this fall's election that did not need additional interpretation.

Despite the tensions that have existed between the Democratic Governor and the President, Mr. Carey said he would be on the podium at the convention to show his support when Mr. Carter accepted his party's nomination.

"My hands are going to be sore," the Governor told reporters after the mid-afternoon meeting, which was held at President Carter's request. "I'm going to be applauding at every appropriate point in this speech."

Earlier in the day Mr. Carey sent his regrets to a fund-raising luncheon at the Plaza Hotel, where President Carter was the featured speaker, and his absence led to some speculation that he was continuing to distance himself from the President.

Many politicians believe Mr. Carey does harbor long-bored his own political ambitions; the Governor went so far as to reject last fall financial and political advisers to assess his chances.

But Mr. Carey's press secretary, Michael Patterson, insisted that at the time of yesterday's luncheon, held to raise money for Democratic candidates for Congress, Mr. Carey was at his summer home on Shelter Island, L.I., and no slight to the President was intended.

Nevertheless, the Governor's absence was made conspicuous by Mayor Koch, who asked that the Governor stand and be recognized.

"Where are you, Hugh?" the Mayor asked, then winked. "I'm going to be looking for a car." He was referring to an

FRIDAY, AUGUST 15, 1980
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The President Steps Out To Partake of New York

While Aides Worry About the Big Speech, Carter Jogs and Eats a Deli Breakfast

By TERENCE SMITH

At 6:30 yesterday morning a sandy-haired man in a T-shirt and running shorts stepped out of a limousine near Columbus Circle and set off with two companions on a gentle jog through Central Park. Two women out for an early morning run did a double-take and convulsed into giggles as the President of the United States passed by with a wave.

Six hours after his renomination at the Democratic convention, Jimmy Carter was taking some time to enjoy New York as a tourist. He had breakfast at the Stage Delicatessen, addressed a glittering lunch gathering at the Plaza Hotel and reluctantly passed up a planned visit to the Picasso exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art to put the finishing touches on his acceptance speech.

Before going to bed the night before, Mr. Carter received a phone call in his blue-carpeted, 21st-floor suite at the Sheraton Centre Hotel from the man he will confront on the campaign trail this fall, Ronald Reagan.

"They had a nice conversation," recalled Robert S. Strauss, the Carter campaign chairman, who was with the President at the time.

"I heard the President say, 'Thanks, you were great to call and I appreciate it very much. I hope we'll be able to take the campaign to the country on an issue basis so the people can make up their minds about us.'" Mr. Strauss added that "both men want very much to conduct a campaign on the issues rather than personalities."

Tension Among Aides

Although the President had some free time yesterday, there was almost palpable tension building among his top aides as he prepared for his acceptance speech.

"It's a very important speech for Jimmy Carter," a senior aide said. "He wants to set the tone for the campaign, lay out his rationale for a second term and put the primary season behind him."

The President's aides were also keenly aware of Senator Edward M. Kennedy's rousing reception at the convention Tuesday night. "That's a tough act to follow," one White House official

observed. "But that often brings out the best in Jimmy Carter."

The drafting and preparation for the speech began six weeks ago when a memorandum soliciting ideas was circulated to the senior White House staff. Several planning sessions involving top aides followed, but the process of "composition by committee," as one aide described it today, was arrested by the sudden disclosures of Billy Carter's connections with Libya.

"The Billy thing stopped the speech-drafting cold," one White House official said. The President and his senior advisers turned to the chore of sifting their phone logs and records to prepare the long statement issued 10 days ago.

The drafting then resumed and Mr. Carter spent much of last weekend at Camp David editing a version written by Hendrick Herzberg, his chief speech writer. The President continued making changes in the text until late yesterday afternoon.

After his 30-minute jog yesterday, Mr. Carter and his wife, Rosalynn, strolled to the Stage Delicatessen for a breakfast of scrambled eggs, bagels and cream cheese.

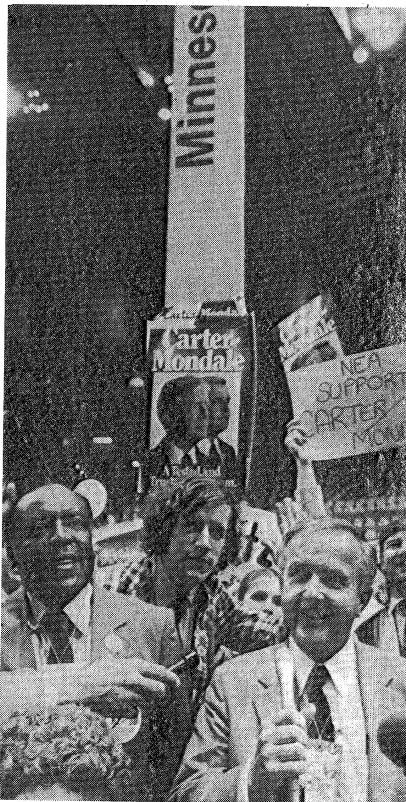
"The bagels were good," Mr. Carter said with a grin as he emerged shortly after 10 A.M.

At midday, he addressed some 800 people at a \$500-a-plate luncheon in the Grand Ballroom of the Plaza for the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee.

Obviously in a good mood, Mr. Carter used the opportunity to take a few swipes at his Republican opponent.

"We're going to have some problems with actors this year, but I don't think too much," he said. "They're quick to learn and they need to learn new lines. I noticed some of the posters in the convention said, 'What is party?' and 'Who is God?'"

Asked later if the joke about Mr. Reagan's acting background wasn't a bit vicious for someone who had promised to conduct an "issue-based" campaign, Mr. Strauss told reporters: "The President calling Ronald Reagan an actor is no more vicious than other people calling the President a peanut farmer."



Members of the Minnesota delegation celebrating last night after Vice President Mondale's name was placed in nomination.

Kennedy Was Prepared Days Ago to Back Carter

But He Held Out, Aides Report, to Pursue Platform Issues and Nomination Hopes

By B. DRUMMOND AYRES JR.

Senator Edward M. Kennedy apparently was prepared before arriving at the Democratic convention to support President Carter in the likely event the President won renomination, Kennedy aides said yesterday.

But the Massachusetts challenger was determined to press his candidacy, the aides reported, as long as possible in the hope of winning platform concessions, if not the nomination.

The aides, who asked not to be identified, said Mr. Kennedy had never flatly told them his ultimate strategy.

"But," one added, "there was a certain inevitability of support for the President, a sense of it, knowing the Senator and given the fact of Ronald Reagan, the fact that the Senator's brother Jack had led the party and the fact that the Senator and his family had been involved in the party for so long."

"He used his leverage," the aide said. "Once that was done, that was it. Then you had another responsibility."

Perhaps the biggest question left unanswered after last night was how much campaigning Mr. Kennedy might do for Mr. Carter and how hard he might go at it. Top Kennedy and Carter aides said late yesterday that the matter had not been discussed. But a Kennedy confidant said there was a possibility the two men might meet and appear together as early as next Thursday, when Mr. Carter is to address the American Legion's national convention in Boston.

Mr. Kennedy first toned down his criticism of the President last weekend, after arriving in New York on Friday and delivering a harsh anti-Carter blast. By Wednesday, when he had lost a crucial rule fight and withdrawn his candidacy but was still fighting for platform concessions on Federal jobs programs, he was assuaging the President that he would not harshly criticize the ultimate shape of the platform.

"He sent word that he thought the President was making a mistake that would hurt in November," a Kennedy aide reported. "But word also was sent that the Senator would not be strongly negative about the platform, whatever the outcome of the fight."

Aides for both sides said there was no

extensive give-and-take on the jobs issue in meetings between the camps on Wednesday. As recounted by the aides, the meetings — there were three — were mostly for an exchange of views, with no talk of compromise.

Paul Kirk, the Senator's top political strategist, was said to have informed Hamilton Jordan, Mr. Carter's top political strategist, that the Senator was convinced that the delegates would feel slighted if the President disavowed or did not fully support the jobs plank passed by the convention. Mr. Jordan was said to have replied with position papers outlining the President's concern about heavy Federal spending in times of economic distress.

Midway through the negotiations, representatives of organized labor, including Lane Kirkland, president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., and Douglas A. Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers, expressed concern to both sides about possible watering down of support for the jobs plank. The Carter position was then modified, but not enough to keep the Senator from sending final word that he was "at best, disappointed."

A Sense of Trouble Brewing

Early Wednesday, as the convention worked toward ending its platform deliberations, Mr. Kennedy ordered his speech writers to draft two statements — one outlining concern about the jobs issue and leaving open the question of Mr. Kennedy's support for Mr. Carter in the fall, and another statement, much more cryptic than the first, congratulating the President on renomination, endorsing the platform and terming defeat of Ronald Reagan, the Republican nominee, "imperative."

An hour or so later, with the nomination process under way, the Senator ordered release of the second statement and sent word to the convention that he wanted one of his representatives to move that Mr. Carter be renominated by acclamation. His aides said later that he had acted when he sensed that some of his delegates were becoming fractious and might cause trouble and headlines proclaiming that the Kennedy campaign had been divisive and obstructionist to the very end.

Insider at the White House

Walter Frederick Mondale

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 14 — Since the Presidential campaign began last September, he has visited 36 states, traveled 125,000 miles, given 210 speeches, attended 150 receptions and meetings and held more than 225 news conferences, interviews and editorial sessions — all in behalf of President Carter.

At the end of the campaign speeches, he tells voters that if they "do what I know you're going to do — re-nominate Jimmy Carter — just to show they're going to appreciate what you've done for him, your party and your country, we're going to give you a gift. We're going to throw Walter F. Mondale in free!"

With this sort of exuberance, Vice President Mondale has told this year for Mr. Carter while making clear that he is also working for himself.

As a politician who once counted himself among the band of overheated liberals in the Senate and as a close ally and friend of Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, Mr. Mondale this year found himself preaching President Carter's gospel of fiscal restraint and military preparedness.

He has played a key role helping to sell Mr. Carter's policies to disenchanted colleagues and pushing for liberal approaches within the White House. In the process he has achieved greater influence in the Administration than perhaps any other Vice President in recent history.

Mr. Carter has proclaimed Mr. Mondale his full partner in many policy

areas, so have more neutral observers, including many in Congress and labor unions.

It was Mr. Mondale who worked with Douglas A. Fraser, president of the United Automobile Workers, to fashion a package to save the Chrysler Corporation and aid the automobile industry.

It was Mr. Mondale who advised Mr. Carter last spring to oppose a budget compromise worked out in Congress that would have contained new increases in military spending. And he was the first member of the Administration to call for a boycott of the Olympic Games in Moscow this summer.

In 1976, when he was a Senator from Minnesota, Mr. Mondale withdrew as a Presidential candidate because, he said, he did not have the "overwhelming desire to be President which is essential to the kind of campaign that is required."

'You Could Have It Both Ways'

More recently, as Mr. Mondale was selling the Carter Administration to disaffected Democrats, the President's tumble in public opinion polls suggested and some Democrats contended Mr. Mondale as an alternative.

Indeed, a New York Times/CBS News Poll found last week that Mr. Mondale trailed Ronald Reagan by 12 percentage points, while Mr. Carter trailed by 20 points, a finding that seemed to bear out the feelings of these party professionals.

"I think if the Carter ship goes down, Mondale may survive," Representative Morris K. Udall, the liberal Democrat from Arizona, said last year. "He's a figure around whom people

could rally. You could have it both ways — not turn your back on the Carter-Mondale Administration. But here's a guy in good with labor, blacks, educators."

As recently as a couple weeks ago, Mr. Mondale found that he had to ask supporters to drop their effort to draft him for the nomination.

If there was ever a Mondale boomlet in this political season, it seems to have had a genesis in the tension at the White House a year ago, when relations between the Vice President and the President — and, more precisely, between their staffs — were at a low point.

This period followed President Carter's "domestic summit" at Camp David, Md., in which he conferred with a range of public figures and emerged to call for Americans to leave off their "crisis of confidence" and join in a crusade to conserve energy.

Mr. Mondale was not in Washington then and it became conspicuous by his absence. But it was clear in subsequent weeks that he personally thought little of the idea of addressing the problem of lines at gasoline stations by talking of crisis of the American spirit.

The internal tension that arose then dissipated, however, as Mr. Mondale began campaigning for Mr. Carter's renomination. "If anything, the role which I'm permitted to play in the Carter Administration is broadening and deepening," he asserted last December.

As it had before, that role gives him unlimited access to every official docu-

Party Unity: Facing the Alternatives

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS

Rachel Fulton took a long time to give up. She voted for Senator Edward M. Kennedy Wednesday night, then argued for his cause yesterday morning at a meeting of the Iowa delegation. But when the meeting was over, Mrs. Fulton was convinced.

"I'm disappointed," said the delegate from Waterville, Iowa, "but we'll be a unified party in the fall. I will work for the Democratic Party, and now I'll vote for President Carter."

Mrs. Fulton paused, her face set in a sad smile. "I never thought I'd ever say that," she said. "It took a lot of soul-searching."

Many Kennedy partisans thought they would never support President Carter, and even now their backing is generally reluctant, lukewarm. Even the President's own supporters at this convention seldom describe him as a great, or even as a good, President.

The Reagan Influence and Unity

But as the Democratic convention drew to a close yesterday, it was clear that the single most important figure in New York this week watched the proceedings on television at his home in California. Ronald Reagan, the Republican nominee, has done far more to unify the Democrats than anyone else.

"I can't say I'm fanatically euphoric about Carter's track record," said Scott Bartlett, a Kennedy delegate from Eugene, Ore. "But we have no choice, or I don't want a blood-letting that will give this country to Ronald Reagan."

At the same time, many Kennedy delegates were already looking ahead to 1984 and the expected battle against Vice President Mondale for the Presidential nomination that year. And they saw their support for the ticket this year as an investment in the future.

"If the Kennedy people don't work their butts off this time," said Francis McQuade, an official of the Democratic National Committee, "a lot of practical politicians will sit on their hands the next time."

In fact, if Mr. Reagan dominated this convention, the forgotten man might be Vice President Mondale, whose

name was barely mentioned all week before his renomination last night. Senator Kennedy's speech Tuesday night stirred appreciation even from the Carter camp, and many of the President's delegates agreed with Thomas Carney of Pittsburgh, who said: "I can see Kennedy as the most powerful Democratic candidate in 1984. He walked out a gentleman."

Some Kennedy delegates, of course, refused to reconcile themselves. Many of them joined the nomination battle because they thought Mr. Carter had been "a lousy President," as Ron Marsh of Wisconsin put it, and the week's events had not changed their minds.

"Carter hasn't established any support among liberals," grouched Bill Kraus of San Francisco. "There's no emotional support for him at all. If people do end up voting for him, it's only because they're afraid of Reagan."

What's the alternative? "That's the problem," Mr. Kraus said. "I don't want Anderson because of his labor record, so I have nowhere to go. But I'm tired of having to support someone just because the alternative is worse. Carter has banked on the liberals having to do that, and I resent that."

But yesterday was a time for swallowing resentment, and a little pride along with it. The delegates were not leaving here inspired or exalted, but they seemed ready for a grim, scrappy fight.

"Taken on balance, Carter's been a pretty good President, but it will be hard to sell him," said Bruce Egan, a Carter delegate from Devils Lake, N.D. "At times, he's his own worst enemy. He doesn't promote or project the image he should project."

Senator George Mitchell of Maine, who was appointed to the Senate seat vacated by Edmund S. Muskie when he became Secretary of State, came up with what could be the motto of this convention when he said, "Life presents us with imperfect alternatives."

Looking back on the Administration of the man they had just renominated, most delegates at the convention

Continued on Page B5